

Recognizing the Chinese Marriage Trade as a Gray Market

Research Thesis

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation with *research distinction* in the
undergraduate colleges of The Ohio State University

By

Kerry Stevens

The Ohio State University

May 2019

Project Supervisor: Dr. Hollie Nyseth Brehm, Department of Sociology

Abstract

China's 1980 One Child Policy and the recent migration of women from rural to urban areas has left rural regions of China with a large gender imbalance and a deficit of women to be wives. In result, a marriage trade in Northern China was developed by 3rd party brokers to supply the numerous Chinese bachelors with North Korean wives. Since the North Korean famine of the mid 1990s, these women have been increasingly defecting to China. This emerging gray market assuages the demands of traditional Chinese culture as well as China's growing commercial sex industry. Some of these women willfully chose to be sold into marriage, and others were trafficked through methods of coercion and deception. My research introduces and emphasizes the power and ability that gray markets have on the current and future derailment of Chinese society by examining how various governments and organizations frame this issue. For example, do they label it as human trafficking, as a gray market or as a legal action? I analyze open access sources from the United States and Chinese governments, the United Nations, five non-governmental organizations focused on the protection of human rights, three faith-based organizations, and one humanitarian organization. I find that the majority of these organizations minimize the North Korean female voices in comparison to the praise they give to their financial support, their employees, and if applicable, their faith. The United States, the United Nations and western organizations generally frame this marriage trade as human trafficking. Motivation aside, the minimization of these women's voices, the heavy influence of Western opinion, money and China's heavy censorship, make it difficult to recognize the gray areas of this situation. Furthermore these women are often only depicted as victims to be "saved," allowing the trade's dual functionality to be less acknowledged. This trade not only supplies Chinese men with wives but can also be a self-chosen option of survival for these women, which is why the trade has a dual functionality. The Chinese Marriage Trade is a gray market and its negative impact should not be ignored. Many nations are vulnerable to gray markets like this and it is imperative that we begin to recognize and target them.

Introduction

The Chinese Marriage Trade is a largely overlooked societal problem that has not only impacted China but also its neighboring nations. The Chinese Marriage Trade is one of the many negative consequences that resulted from China's 1970 One Child Policy. This policy in addition to Chinese society's long existing culture of "preference for sons,"¹ led to a large gender imbalance of males to females. There are currently about 30 million more men than women in China,² which has had a negative impact on this country's culture because of the reliance on sons to marry women. In China, men are expected to find wives and women are expected to help take care of their husband's parents in old age.³ While there is a plethora of problems that came from the implementation of the One Child Policy, the emergence of the Chinese Marriage Trade is one of the most overlooked. It is a trade that was created by brokers to supply China's growing bachelor population with wives.⁴ Over the years, the supply for this trade has increasingly come from China's neighboring countries that often lack social and economic stability.

In the Northern rural areas of China, the Chinese Marriage Trade has greatly profited from the use of North Korean female refugees as their product. The North Korean Famine of the mid 1990s resulted in a large and continuous flow of North Koreans, specifically women, over the border into China. Due to a lack of food, a scarcity of economic opportunity and a lack of individual freedoms in North Korea, many of these women have crossed the border in order to either survive or support their families who remain in North Korea.⁵ However, if a North Korean citizen does not have permission from the North Korean Government to cross the border, it is illegal for them to leave North Korea. Furthermore, as one of the many negative results of China and North Korea's bilateral agreement of repatriation, these women are seen as illegal economic migrants in China and receive no rights or refugee status.⁶ Any North Korean who is found by

the Chinese government is forcibly repatriated back to North Korea, where they not only have their human rights violated but they are also put in either political prison camps or labor camps.

These women are often intercepted by brokers on the border and deceived into being sold into marriage with men who are either of low economic status, have a mental disability, are older in age or lack an education.⁷ Furthermore, these women not only commonly experience some form of abuse during these marriages, but some are even sold either multiple times or into sex trafficking.⁸ It is important to recognize that some of these women either cross into China with plans to be sold into marriage or they may choose this option as a means to survive.⁹ Since some women willingly choose to be sold into marriage, it would be inaccurate to label the entirety of the Chinese Marriage Trade with terminology such as human trafficking, forced marriage or modern-day slavery. The freedom of choice that some of these women utilize with regards to the trade reveals that there is a dual functionality to the situation. In certain circumstances, the Chinese Marriage Trade not only provides bachelors with wives, but this market also supplies some of these women with a temporary solution for survival.

The existence of this dual functional puts an emphasis on the gray area that is the status of this situation. I argue that the Chinese Marriage Trade is a gray market, in that it is a trade that is neither licit nor illicit. Much of the marriage trade market involves illegal activity, and like other gray markets, continues to exist because it is difficult to crack down on for illegal activity. My research focuses on recognizing the Chinese Marriage Trade as a gray market, and not just as an illegal business.¹⁰ This paper also demonstrates the harm that gray markets can have on multiple societies. Furthermore, these most commonly applied labels all describe strictly illegal situations, as defined by international law. Specifically, I seek to understand whether various organizations recognize this gray market and how these organizations label and discuss the

Chinese Marriage Trade. I analyze 413 documents produced by five human rights groups, three faith-based organizations, one humanitarian organization, the United States Government, the United Nations and the Chinese Government in order to understand how each of these organizations differ in the way that they frame the situation to their respective audiences. The Chinese Marriage Trade has been in existence since the mid 1990s but has had a lack of both domestic and international recognition. Furthermore, only 5 out of the 413 documents that I analyze loosely frame the situation as a gray market and not a single document explicitly labels it as a gray market. By focusing on the dual functionality that this trade can have, we can better understand why such a disruptive situation continues to not only exist but also thrive. However, if we continue to both ignore its dual functionality and not recognize its status as a Gray Market, we will be unable to see the situation from all angles and therefore be unable to provide promising solutions.

In what follows, I begin by reviewing relevant literature on how knowledge about the social phenomena like the Marriage Trade is socially constructed. I then introduce prognostic, diagnostic, and motivational framing, the three categories of sociological framing. Following the explanation on framing, I then discuss two significant related topics regarding the use of framing: framing of human rights and framing used to inflate the significance of victimization. Afterwards, I explain my methodology and why I choose to specifically analyze the 11 organizations included in my research. I then discuss three main results of my research: the effect of labels on the framing of the Marriage Trade, the significance of each organization's motivation to work with North Korean females, and the importance of these North Korean female voices. To conclude this paper, I discuss why the Chinese Marriage Trade should be

recognized as a gray market, the negative consequences that the trade has on society and suggestions on how to begin resolving the issue.

Background

How is Knowledge Socially Constructed?

My research mainly takes a sociological approach by first understanding the way in which knowledge is socially constructed.¹¹ It is important to recognize that knowledge is greatly influenced by the different social interactions that one has in their life.¹² This means that people are more likely to share common opinions and ideas with those they most commonly interact with. These commonly shared interests and viewpoints enable people to continually exist on the same social plane. For instance, the ability to donate to a cause and sympathize as a group for those less fortunate enables people within some organizations to exist within the same realm¹³.

This commonly shared knowledge serves as the foundation for the existence and continuation of organizations like the ones that I analyze. This common foundation allows organizations to create their specific angle on a controversial and serious topic, and to attract the attention of others to their cause. In addition, knowledge is also greatly impacted by the different social structures that one finds them-self associated with.¹⁴ For instance, organizations that have their origins in Western, individualized societies may be more likely to view the Chinese Marriage Trade as an act of forced marriage, while someone from a conservative East Asian culture might view it as an example of arranged marriage. Furthermore, socially constructed knowledge greatly impacts the way that both individuals and large-scale organizations alike see and approach different situations.

Furthermore, many organizations use socially constructed knowledge to create frames that influence the decisions of policy makers and different governing bodies on current societal problems.¹⁵ By sharing common passions and opinions, organizations are able to increase the volume of their voice on the political agenda through attracting more people to their cause. This not only allows them to shape how different individuals perceive a situation, but also to apply pressure on to policy makers and governing bodies to change their “behavior” and “policies.”¹⁶ Furthermore, organizations will then continue to monitor the situation in order to ensure that the different entities are following international standards. For instance, the US Department of State creates an annual report on the human trafficking situation in most countries in order to both monitor and pressure different states to comply with international expectations.¹⁷

What is Framing?

My research focuses on how different organizations frame both the Chinese Marriage Trade and the situation of these North Korean women. Framing is the different ways in which organizations arrange and package their information.¹⁸ Through the use of framing, organizations have the ability to better control what information is being relayed to their audience and the lens through which this information is viewed. More importantly, framing allows them to impact how these audiences perceive the information on specific situations.

Framing in sociological terms consists of three overall categories: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing.^{19 20} Diagnostic framing is used by organizations to explain the problem that they are interested in through their own words.²¹ This means that they choose how these problems are defined. In this research, I focus on whether organizations define the Chinese Marriage Trade as an illegal situation, a legal situation or a gray situation. If an organization defines this situation as human trafficking or modern-day slavery, they have

succeeded in framing this situation as illegal. In result, the audience who receives this organization's information will also understand the Chinese Marriage Trade in terms of having an illegal status.

Prognostic framing uses specific terminology to discuss what solutions a certain entity suggests for the previously discussed problem.²² For example, the Mujahedeen, an Islamic jihadist terrorist group operating in Kashmiri, frame the use of children as suicide bombers as a logical means to an end that has a benefit for all involved.²³ When gathering interest from the community for this role, they not only call these suicide bombers martyrs, but also claim that they play an essential part in protecting their religion, and its followers, from being attacked by others. Without arousing too much fear, they glorify the use of violence and frame suicide bombers as essential to advancing past their adversities, as a united community.

Motivational framing is the manner in which different entities use their ideology to explain not only why they need to be involved with the situation at hand, but also why others should join them.²⁴ People fighting child obesity, for example, will be likely to frame the situation of child obesity as problem that will have a large negative impact on future generations if they and others do not intervene.²⁵ They then use their concern for the health of younger generations as a motivation to take action. By framing this situation as a national health problem, they not only make it appear to be a commonly shared threat but also motivate others to also get involved.

Framing and Human Rights Violations

A main goal of a human rights activist, as well as of human rights organizations, is to highlight the lives and situations of people who are undergoing human rights violations but are not receiving recognition or protection against such violations. As a result, there are few cases in

which human rights organizations will recognize the possibility of a gray area. In the field of human rights, there is usually only right and wrong, with the existence of gray areas often overlooked. This is partially due to their overwhelming focus on human rights abuses, which are all examples of illegal actions.²⁶ Such organizations may fear that if gray areas are brought up in human rights literature, it could distract the reader's attention from the mass human rights violation that are currently widely overlooked. By discussing a situation as only a violation, there is no other way for an audience to perceive the situation except as a clear human rights abuse.

For instance, Human Rights Watch (HRW) criticizes the Trump administration for their increase of human rights violations through their 2018 travel ban on certain countries, as well as the issue of separating multiple immigrating families on the southern US border.²⁷ HRW does not once mention whether or not these actions were taken to improve US national security, instead they only focus their attention on how the administration's actions violate the human rights of others. They do this by not only highlighting that the travel ban was placed on many predominately Muslim countries,²⁸ but also that the actions of the administration on the southern border of the United States resulted in the specific separation of children from their parents. Opinions aside on what is right and what is wrong, it is clear that HRW only wants to draw attention to the violation of human rights, and not its possible gray areas.

Furthermore, human rights advocates rely on their ability to frame situations as those that severely violate people's human rights but also rely on their ability to mobilize their audience to support their stance on the situation. By stating the most horrific details of a situation and not mentioning the blurry areas, it will intensify the severity at which the unacknowledged violation of human rights has become.²⁹ This allows organizations to bring immediate attention to the violation at hand. For instance, while the organ trade could be seen as a gray market, the majority

of Western sources would only label it as illegal “organ trafficking.” The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime highlight that traffickers often exploit the economic vulnerabilities of their donors.³⁰ Whether or not these donors have chosen this option on their own without deception is not mentioned. Furthermore, organizations may also justify the organ trade as a violation of human rights by emphasizing the action of some to harvest and sell organs from recently deceased bodies. The World Health Organization, among other international entities has criticized China for their alleged participation in harvesting organs from recently executed prisoners and selling them for profit.³¹ The use of frames by human rights literature and activists leads to defining a situation as indefinitely wrong, and eliciting interest by the general public so that they can further pressure larger powers to take protective measures for those who experience such violations.

Framing That Relies Heavily on the Subject of Victimization

Many sources that discuss human trafficking tend to heavily use the label of “victim” to reference those who have been trafficked instead of referring to them by other labels such as “refugee” and “immigrant.”³² This allows organizations to emphasize the status of the victim, so that they can further prove the situation to be an act of human trafficking. An article from the magazine *Trends in Organized Crime* on the “Nigerian Sex Trafficking Network,” for example, extensively refers to the Nigerian women being used in the network as “victims” who have undergone “exploitation” through the hands of their traffickers.³³ By emphasizing the victimization that these women have undergone, it further frames them as people who were targeted and forced into the difficult situations they endured.

Other sources that discuss human trafficking may also focus on the age of the “victim” to emphasize the lack of consent and the use of deception that occurs in such situations. Recently,

both the United Nations and the United States have begun to increasingly emphasize that any minor that is under the age of 18 who is involved in the transaction of sex is a victim of human trafficking.³⁴ Both the United Nations' *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Trafficking in Persons*³⁵ and the United States Customs and Border Control³⁶ specifically state that fraud, force and coercion do not need to be involved when defining those under the age of 18 as victims of human trafficking. The argument that these organizations make in order to define a specific situation as human trafficking becomes stronger when the victimization of minors is mentioned because minors are viewed as not having the full ability to both protect themselves and having a higher vulnerability to deception.

It is important to understand the effect that framing can have on shaping both individual and group opinions on specific topics. I exemplify the impact that socially constructed knowledge has on the perspective many people have on this issue. These organizations as well as the individuals writing the majority of the literature on this topic, have taken their opinions on the subject and framed it to be perceived a certain way by their audiences. For instance, both organizations and individuals alike have inflated the gruesome details of the Chinese Marriage Trade such as "victimization" and "human trafficking" to better frame the situation as an illegal activity. This leaves little room for others to notice the gray areas of the Chinese Marriage Trade. Furthermore, despite how these organizations and individuals frame the situation, people will be more drawn to understanding the Marriage Trade in the way that matches not only their opinions and morals, but also those of the people they regularly interact with. For instance, a regular church attendee will be most likely drawn to a faith-based organization over a human rights group because they and the faith-based organization share a common passion for their faith. And due to their interaction with the faith-based organization, they will be more likely to not only

adopt the group's opinions on the situation but also be more responsive to their methods of framing.

Methodology

I analyze how multiple different organizations frame the Chinese Marriage Trade situation. Do they view this as a gray market? Through the use of framing, different entities are able to heavily influence the presentation of certain situations so that it can be more conducive to either their main goals or their mission. For better explanation, the mission is the main overarching statement regarding how they plan to achieve the solution to their cause and the goals are the milestones that an organization strives to achieve. To better understand this situation, I focus on the language that these organizations choose to use when discussing these North Korean women and their situations. For instance, when these organizations label these women as victims or heavily use the terms “modern day slavery” and “human trafficking” to discuss the situation, they are framing the situation as an illegal activity. Due to the minimal overall knowledge on the existence of both the Chinese Marriage Trade and the current North Korean refugee crisis, groups often have the opportunity to frame information regarding these two situations without a large amount of criticism from those they encounter.

Due to the lack of knowledge regarding these situations, there are few organizations that focus on this situation. I find that a total of eight organizations primarily focus on the situation of North Koreans both inside and outside of North Korea but chose to only include six of the eight organizations in my analysis. Since Connect North Korea and Korea Future Initiative were both created in the past one year, I decide to exclude them from my findings due to a lack of information in comparison to the other sources. The other organizations included in my research

are focused on multiple different groups, not just those from North Korea. My research is comprised of the analysis of five human rights groups, three faith-based organizations, one humanitarian organization, the United States government, the United Nations, the Chinese government, and a few media sources.

I specifically analyze three faith-based organizations to understand the extent to which an organization's faith basis affects its framing. I look at a variety of human rights groups to understand whether or not their stance on other human rights situations would affect their decision to frame the Chinese Marriage Trade as an illegal trade. Aside from multiple western and domestic human rights organizations, I also analyze three international human rights organizations. I do this to not only highlight how they may frame the situation differently from the other human rights groups, but also to put an emphasis on their lack of attention regarding the situation. I also find it important to include a humanitarian organization in order to assess differences in framing between human rights and humanitarian organizations. The analysis of the United Nations, the Chinese Government and the United States Government were crucial to understanding how their use of framing in relation to this situation, may or may not have prevented the situation of these women from progressing towards a better direction.

I also specifically chose to analyze these eleven organizations because I am interested in not only how they framed the situation of these North Korean Women in relation to the Chinese Marriage Trade, but I am also curious in understanding the "why" behind their interest in these people. The three faith-based organizations I chose to incorporate in my research were Voice of Martyrs Korea,³⁷ Crossing Borders,³⁸ and Christians For Korea.³⁹ For my one humanitarian group I analyze Liberty North Korea⁴⁰, an organization that aims to raise funds and train employees and volunteers so that they can "rescue" North Korean women from their hostile

situations. I only included one humanitarian organization in my research, because it is the only one identified that works specifically with North Koreans. Furthermore, I include three faith-based organizations because they were the most prominent groups focused specifically on the North Korean situation. Since both the faith-based organizations and the humanitarian organization have a goal to protect these women, I anticipate they will view the marriage trade as a case of human trafficking.

I then analyze the five following human rights nongovernmental organizations (NGOs): Citizen's Alliance North Korean Human Rights (NKHR),⁴¹ Human Rights North Korea (HRNK),⁴² Anti Slavery International,⁴³ Amnesty International,⁴⁴ and Human Rights Watch (HRW).⁴⁵ All five of these groups advocate for the human rights of various people, and the motivation to do so is usually in reaction of a violation of human rights or some sort of injustice towards a subaltern group. Based on this observation, these human rights NGOs are also likely to frame the Chinese Marriage Trade as an act of human trafficking and/or as an act of modern-day slavery. I then focus my attention on the US government, the United Nations and the Chinese government's understanding of the situation. As Western institutions, the US government and the United Nations are likely to frame this situation as human trafficking because of their recent increased focus on sex trafficking. While China has little to say on the topic, they make their stance on the issue clear. I also include the following media sources in my research: NBC, USA Today, the Washington Post, NPR, ABC News, South China Morning Post, Fox News, Foreign Policy, News Deeply, The Diplomat, International Herald Tribune and The Telegraph UK. I include certain articles from the following media sources because they were either re-posted by the above-mentioned organizations, or they quoted representatives from those organizations in their articles.

The majority of the sources I analyze were published between the years of 2014 to 2018. However due to the lack of attention that has been given to this situation, some of these sources include references to material dating back to as early as the 1990s. I chose to mainly focus on the analysis of documents from 2014 to 2018 to emphasize the lack of importance that this situation has on the current international agenda. For instance, aside from mentioning the involvement of North Korean women in the Chinese Marriage Trade in the US Department of State's annual human trafficking report, the most recent report published by the US government on this issue that I could find was March 5, 2012.⁴⁶ Although this source did not exclusively focus on the situation, it did include a mention of a recent North Korean defector, Songhwa Han who had encountered "forced marriage" while in China.

The open sources that I analyze for the human rights organizations are a combination of the organization's webpages, interviews, blog post written by the organizations, weekly and monthly newsletters, and published research done by the organization. The sources I analyze from the humanitarian organizations included blog posts written by the organization, interviews and the organizations' webpages. The data I collect from the United States government and the United Nations are comprised of interviews, court documents and reports on human rights violations and human trafficking in both China specifically and Eastern Asia in general. I also analyze the statements published by the US Secretary of Defense on the United States' stance on human trafficking between the years of 2014 and 2018. While there are few primary sources regarding China's opinion on the situation, I find the information to be of value and decide to include these in my data. The two sources that I included in my research are both press releases published by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; one published in 2002⁴⁷ and the other in 1990.⁴⁸ In total, this results in 413 sources that I code.

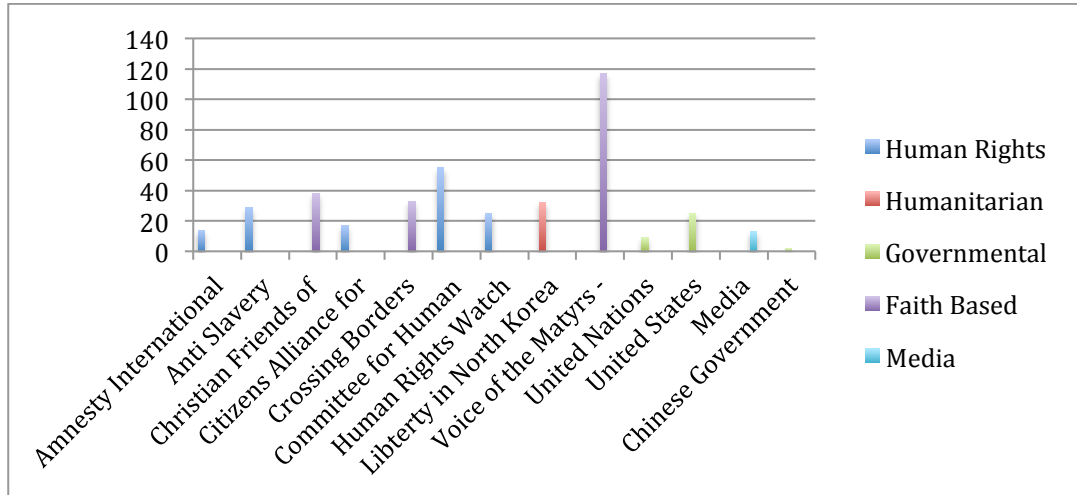


Figure 1. Frequency of Sources by Organization

To facilitate analysis of the 413 sources, I code my qualitative information into quantitative data using the coding program NVivo. Through this program, I am able to more accurately analyze and organize my data through the use of coding. By using NVivo, I am also able to create a codebook that aids my coding for specific information such as frames, words, phrases and types of motivations. The key themes that I code for are: motivational framing, prognostic framing, diagnostic framing, and the specific labels chosen by each organization to discuss to both the situation and the women. NVivo is a program that enables me to organize the information that I have already analyzed, it is not a program that analyzes the information for me. In addition to NVivo, I also translate and analyze multiple primary and secondary sources in relation to this situation from Chinese to English, but few are found to be useful.

Why Gray Markets?

I have chosen to focus on China for the topic of my research because it is a country that is home to multiple gray markets including the Chinese Marriage Trade, the international organ trade and the marketing of pirated goods. Gray markets consist of businesses that overlap

between illicit and licit.⁴⁹ They are trades that can be seen as breaking the laws, while at the same time can also be seen as de-facto functioning. If a market is de-facto functioning, this means while the market is not officially recognized by the state, it is able to continue existing because it serves as some kind of important function to its surrounding society. In contrast to illegal markets, they often operate overtly and risk little when confronted by authorities because of their ability to appear as legal markets. One could say that the majority knows these markets to be most likely illegal, but the chance of debunking their licit image and proving them to be illicit is very unlikely.⁵⁰

Recognition of the Chinese Marriage Trade as a gray market is imperative to not only understanding the overall impact of gray markets across the world, but also serves the purpose to emphasize the importance of understanding the difference in cultural norms. The different cultural values and beliefs that an organization holds can result in perceiving a situation in a very specific way. For instance, China like many other East Asian cultures still continue to exercise the cultural practice of offering the bride's parents a dowry.⁵¹ This cultural practice may blur how these Chinese men view their role in the Chinese marriage. Since it is common practice in their culture to pay for their brides, they may see and frame purchasing North Koreans as the same as offering a dowry to a Chinese woman and her family. In contrast, many Western civilizations believe in the individual choice to marry. This might be a large reason why western organizations not only view but also frame the Chinese Marriage Trade as either an example of forced marriage or an example of human trafficking and modern-day slavery.

Furthermore, I use my research to raise awareness about the multiple gray markets that China and other powerful states not only harbor but also continue to enable. China has not only been involved in the Chinese Marriage Trade but they have also been associated with the illegal

trade and harvesting of organs.⁵² However the subject of whether the purchase and sale of organs that have been harvested without consent is illegal or not, has also proven to be a tricky situation to define.⁵³ While there is a moral line between what is right or wrong, like the Chinese Marriage Trade the organ trade also supplies a temporary solution to a large societal problem. In this case, the organ trade provides a plethora of people with life-saving organs that they may not have otherwise been able to receive had they waited on a legal waiting list. For instance, the most commonly needed transplant in the United States is a kidney transplant but the average wait time is 3.6 years, which for many is far too long to wait.⁵⁴

Other entities involved in the illegal organ trade have also been accused of deceiving people from areas of poverty to sell traffickers their organs for much below the real value.⁵⁵ Despite the use of trickery, these donors receive more from the sale of their organs than they most likely would have received through a local job.⁵⁶ In addition, it must also be recognized that the participants of the illegal organ trade also involve nations that have managed to maintain moderately good international reputations. Some of the largest importers of illegally harvested organs include the United States, Australia and Canada.⁵⁷ As exemplified by the “illegal” organ trade, multiple different countries with a plethora of different economic situations and international reputations have enabled gray markets to exist and thrive.

Results

Labels Used to Inflate Diagnostic Frames

The ability to label and categorize a person due to their situational circumstances is a privilege given to people and organizations that have a plethora of advantages and opportunities over those who are being subjected to such labeling. In this particular situation, the less

advantaged individuals consist of the subaltern population of North Korean female refugees. The image of these women has been framed to fit the needs and missions of both non-governmental organizations and governmental organizations. In other words, by applying specific labels to these women in order to carry out their own mission, these organizations are heavily implementing motivational framing. Motivational frames are used to frame a situation in a way that will excite others to join their cause. For instance, by carefully choosing the words they use when discussing these women's situation, they are able to focus on seeing the Chinese Marriage Trade in the way they want to interpret it. Careful selection of labels such as "vulnerable" and "victim" when referring to these women will not only draw out the sympathy of others but also rally people through prognostic frames to contribute to their movement or campaign. Through my research I have found that the majority of organizations use the situation of these women to advance their own goals, which allows them to avoid understanding the full scope of the trade and its relation with these women.

Furthermore, these organizations apply diagnostic frames to this situation in order to shape how others will understand the trade. Diagnostic frames are the labels applied to a situation by a specific entity based on how they choose to frame a situation. For instance, Anti-Slavery International is likely to label the Chinese Marriage Trade as modern-day slavery because the women involved are often seen as matching this organization's definition of a modern day slave. In contrast, the United States Government will most likely label this situation as an example of human trafficking because their definition of human trafficking states that modern-day slavery is human trafficking.⁵⁸ In recent years the United States has become more focused on its domestic human trafficking problem, specifically the human trafficking of those under the age of 18. To exemplify both the seriousness of the situation and the vulnerability of

human trafficking victims, they will often refer to it as “modern day slavery.”

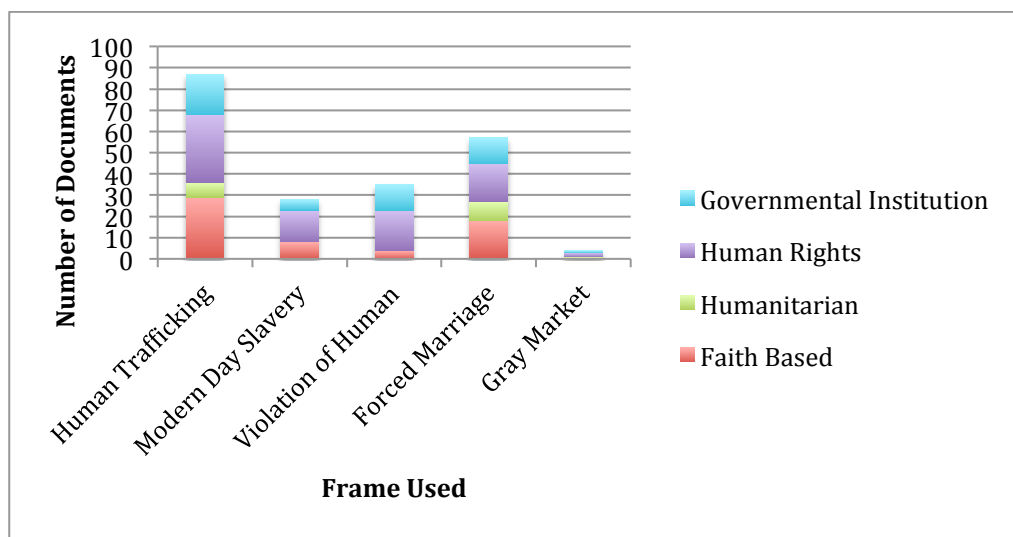


Figure 2. Frames Used by Organizational Documents

As shown in Figure 2, when discussing the Chinese Marriage Trade, 93 documents labeled it as human trafficking, 66 documents labeled it as forced marriage, 29 documents labeled it as a violation of human rights, and 29 documents labeled it as modern-day slavery. These were the most coded diagnostic frames used overall among every organization included in my research. I found that human rights organizations are most likely to frame this situation as a human trafficking and as a violation of human rights. It is evident that the human rights organizations focus on approaching this problem from a human rights abuse perspective. Since both the UN and the US have both recently increased their focus on the human trafficking phenomena, it was understandable that they would most commonly frame the trade as such. Faith-based organizations most likely frame this situation as a form of human trafficking and an act of forced marriage in compliance with the morals of their faith. The humanitarian group may only frame the situation as human trafficking and forced marriage in order to give an adequate reason to supply humanitarian aid to this specific group by depicting them as being in trapped situations.

However, not a single organization specifically labels this trade as a gray market, and only 5 documents loosely frame it as a gray market. A gray market is a trade that is neither licit nor illicit. The most commonly applied labels all describe strictly illegal situations, as defined by international law. Such results signify that these organizations do not recognize the Chinese Marriage Trade as a gray market; instead they have already defined it as illicit. When they analyze the complexities of this market, they perceive it as the illegal purchase and sale of women. While these organizations may notice a dual functionality that is associated with the trade, they will often frame it in a way that does not recognize this aspect. This means that these women are mainly framed as either being forcefully sold into marriage or manipulated into sex trafficking, with little to no recognition that some North Korean women use the trade as a method of survival. By not recognizing this situation as a gray market, there will be an inability to fully understand the extent to which the implementations of the Chinese Marriage Trade can have, and it will also make it nearly impossible to understand the “whys” and “hows” behind the trade’s continual existence.

In addition, China also applies their own diagnostic frame to the situation of these women by labeling them as either “economic migrants” or ‘illegal economic migrants.’⁵⁹ Through the application of these labels, China uses diagnostic framing to diagnosis the situation as a problem of illegal immigration, not a violation of human rights. In result, unlike many of the other groups I included in my project, they do not see these women as deserving refugee status, regardless of whether or not their reason for entering China is related to human rights violations in North Korea.⁶⁰ If these women were granted refugee status, they would be recognized as a group of people that are fleeing persecution and violence from their home countries, who need to be granted temporary refugee status by other nations.

Labeling in Association with Prognostic Frames

In addition, by framing this situation as illegal through labels such as “human trafficking” and “modern-day slavery,” it is easy for organizations to also have the ability to frame these women as victims to be saved and not necessarily voices to be heard. Many of these organizations have affiliated words such as “vulnerable”, “exploitation”, “force” and “deception” with these women when talking about their situation in relation to both North Korea and the Chinese Marriage Trade. Within the past five years, the United States has criticized China in their yearly trafficking of humans report for the existence of marriage trafficking in China.⁶¹ Within these reports, the United States specifically outlines the heavy use of North Korean female refugees to feed this market. Likewise, Liberty in North Korea also frames this trade as a clear example of human trafficking, whether it is an example of sex trafficking or human trafficking. When discussing their reasons as to why they have a mission to “rescue” North Koreans, they discuss how the “illegal status” of these women leave them “vulnerable to sex traffickers.”⁶²

Labels have a powerful effect on defining both the nature of a situation and a person. For instance these women are often labeled as refugees, which may depict them as more of a statistic than an individual who has experienced violation of their human rights. This could then lead to an organization using those statistics to elicit sympathy from others and motivate people to support their cause. However, these women lack control over how the world views them and their situation because these organizations have the privilege of both labeling them and relaying their stories and lives through their own specified frames.

The Significance Behind Types of Motivations

Five Most Coded Motivations

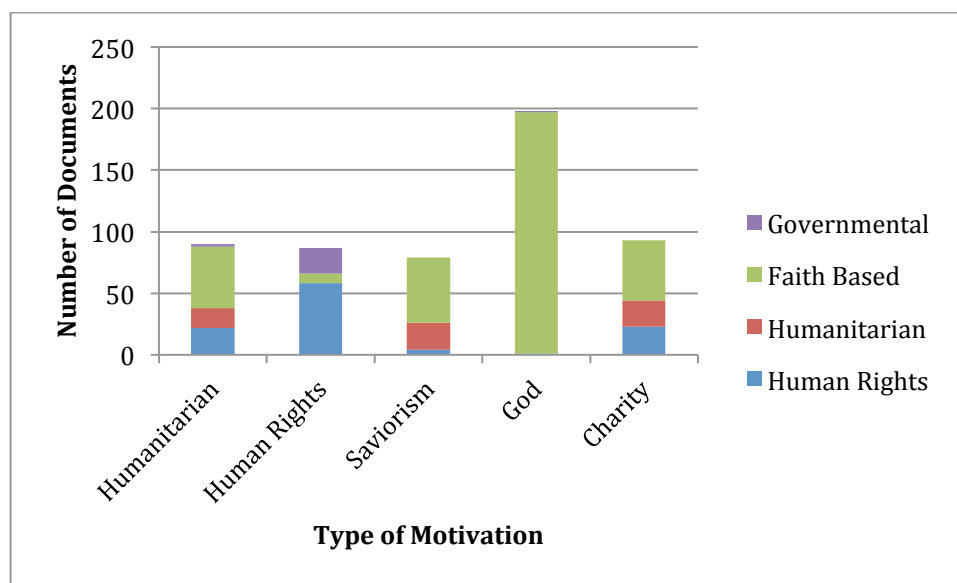


Figure 3. Types of Motivation in Organizational Documents

There is a dearth of information and activism regarding the Chinese Marriage Trade and the current North Korean refugee crisis. This lack of emphasis on these situations both domestically and internationally brings the motivations of these organizations into question. What has driven these organizations to specifically involve themselves with the situation of North Korean females? The results of my research have depicted faith-based organizations as groups that do value the human rights of these women but that also use the situation of these women as a way to assuage their need for self-fulfillment. As shown in Figure 3, whether or not faith-based organizations promote the humanity of these women, their missions to serve good will always come first. Christians for Korea, Voice of Martyrs Korea and Crossing Borders all chose to help the North Korean people because that is what God wants them to do. CFK's reasoning for specifically "serving" the North Korean people is due to their "unique opportunity to act upon our calling by ministering to those suffering in the DPRK"⁶³ and Crossing Borders

states that they are driven by their obligation to “obey” god’s “command to feed the hungry and heal the sick.”⁶⁴ However, Voice of Martyrs has actually voiced that North Korean’s should remain in North Korea and not flee because they need North Korean Christians to spread Christianity within North Korea.^{65 66}

When discussing the impact of faith, it is also important for one to also question, how powerful the need to spread one’s faith is. Would these organizations help these women if they did not become followers of their faith, and are those who choose not to convert treated differently than the others who do? For these organizations, is there enough of God’s love to be spread to non-believers if their mission is to spread their faith to virgin ears? However, despite being driven by the will and love of God, these organizations, like others, can also be driven by the insatiable thirst for power and self-fulfillment.

As seen in Figure 3, a common motivation among many of these organizations, in particular the nongovernment organizations, is saviorism and power. While most of these groups focus on the protection and promotion of these women’s human rights, they have also used these women as an excuse to practice saviorism. As people with privilege, these groups have the ability to use their advantages in order to help better the situations of these women. NKHR consistently asks their community for donations in their monthly newsletter,⁶⁷ and LINK always requests their followers to donate money in support of their rescue teams.⁶⁸ While charity can be a great way to decrease the number of challenges faced in this world, the act of charity is a privilege on its own. When one thinks of charity, most imagine how an allotment of money could benefit those less fortunate than themselves. However, in this situation, the charities carried out by these organizations can also play a role as a method in which to allocate power through monetary means. It is the money that organizations such as LINK and Crossing Borders raise

through donations that can be used to “rescue” and “save” these North Korean women and other North Koreans.^{69 70} Money gives these organizations the power to view the situation as an outsider and apply their funds to advance the situation in the way that they believe to be most conducive. While this money may help these people advance out of their situation tremendously, they can also be held to the unspoken assumption to praise and glorify the organization for the positive impact they have had on the lives of subalterns.

Furthermore, North Korea Human Rights (NKHR), Liberty in North Korea (LINK) and Voice of Martyrs Korea (VOMK) all have the tendency to prioritize the glorification of their own accomplishments over the people the situation directly affects. For instance, VOMK describes how a bible acquired through them was not only a life changing moment for a former North Korean sex trafficking victim but also made her realize the “sin” she had committed while being sex trafficked.⁷¹ Through this example, VOMK emphasizes the positive impact they have had on both sinners and North Korean subalterns. Furthermore, at the end of one of LINK’s articles discussing the hardships of a former defector, they make sure to emphasize the importance of donating by writing “Thank you for helping supply the funds for Yoon Suk’s rescue. Your efforts have changed her life and have provided the opportunity for her to enjoy her new LIBERTY.”⁷² This statement not only glorifies the donor but can also glorify LINK for their selfless actions to provide these women with these exemplary “opportunities.” The importance of charity and privilege suddenly override the defector’s powerful account of her life’s adversities. Is there a point at which these organizations have taken advantage of these subalterns to advance both their own cause and to fulfill their own thirst to be the hero in a story?

Despite the existence of negative motivations driving these organizations, one also cannot ignore the positive motivations. The majority of them seem to believe in spreading awareness

and carrying out activism on behalf of these women who lack voices and basic human rights. Furthermore, despite whether or not they only view them as disadvantaged or victims, many of them appear to care about the individual lives of these North Korean women. These good intentions can be most well seen through the humanitarian aid and activism these organizations involve themselves with. Despite their strong sense of saviorism, Crossing Borders not only raises funds so that they can better treat the spread of tuberculosis in North Korea, but they also bring in their own medical team to both treat and train North Koreans.⁷³ Similarly, while LINK has a goal to “rescue” as many North Koreans as they can,⁷⁴ they also use their time and involvement with former defectors to better understand their situations. They then use this information to raise awareness about the violation of human rights that these North Koreans have and are experiencing, through their website and their “nomad groups.”⁷⁵ LINK’s nomad groups consist mainly of college students and young adults that travel throughout the US and Canada spreading awareness on this issue.

Out of all the groups involved in this research project, Human Rights North Korea (HRNK) is the organization that focuses the most on the human rights of these individual North Koreans. They are a huge player when it comes to applying pressure on the United States Government to give attention to the North Korean Refugee crisis. Furthermore, they have done and published multiple studies on different aspects of human rights violations done against the North Korean People. In 2009, for instance, they published a piece called “Lives for Sale”,⁷⁶ a paper that discusses the human trafficking of North Korean Females, specifically for the purpose of forced marriage and sex. This paper well represents that HRNK is driven by the motivation of obtaining equal rights for subalterns, specifically the North Korean people. The motivations that drive these different organizations play a large role in whether these women are both accurately

represented and whether or not they are provided with a platform to speak on.

The Voices of These Women Need To Be Heard

Like many other situations, these female subalterns are significantly overlooked when it comes to activism for the rights of these women, regarding both their role in the Chinese Marriage Trade and their role in the North Korean refugee crisis. Out of the 413 documents coded, statements from these women appeared 120 times across a mere 61 documents. While these organizations take it upon themselves to summarize and attract interest for the situation of these North Korean female subalterns, there is a lack of platform for these women's voices. These women are the only people who have experienced their own situations, and their input would be conducive to advancing the situation of women like them in the future.

However, their input will not be helpful if their words and opinions have been greatly influenced by larger powers such as these different organizations. When relaying information on this situation, many of these organizations do include direct quotes and interviews with foreign North Korean defectors who have experienced the Chinese Marriage Trade, but their answers often represent the mission and or goals of their sponsoring organization. This brings up the question of whether these are the genuine words of these women or the framed message of the organization are being used.

For example, VOMK created a program called the "Underground University School" where they educate North Korean's on their faith and prepare them to return to North Korea as Martyrs, who will continue spread this faith.⁷⁷ In one of VOMK's blog posts, a North Korean female who had been converted by VOMK was quoted saying, "I knew it was not the right way to live and I felt guilty, but I need to earn money and sent it back to North Korea."⁷⁸ This woman was discussing her personal experience as someone who had been human trafficked in China.

Her words seem to express the disapproving opinion of VOMK for selling her body for money despite the fact that she did not engage in sexual acts by choice, but by force.

In addition it is clear that these organizations focus on defining the Chinese Marriage Trade as an example of both human trafficking and modern day slavery based on the testimonies given by North Korean women. There is little mention of the dual functionality that exists with the trade, even from the women's statements. Out of the 120 times that North Korean females are directly quoted within the 413 documents that were coded, 48 of their accounts stated that they were sold into marriage through human trafficking or modern-day slavery, and only 7 accounts stated that they personally chose to be sold into marriage without the involvement of deception or coercion. Furthermore, in some articles and blog posts it is clear that these organizations asked very specific questions, framed by how they already perceive the marriage trade.

However, other sources merely describe the women's experiences through either their organization's words, an interpretation of an English speaker or the interviewer. In these cases we have no idea what the questions are that were asked of these women, but it is evident that these questions most likely do not include questions on the possible benefits of the Chinese Marriage Trade. By leaving out these specific questions regarding the trade's dual functionality, these organizations are able to frame it as both an illegal action and as an example of both human trafficking and modern-day slavery. Without the willingness to also play devil's advocate on this controversial topic people will be unable to fully understand why this situation exists or why it continues to thrive. These women's statements may give strong evidence to an organizations claims, but the questions that they use to guide these women's responses has the power to also extract the best information that will advance their own interests.

Furthermore, for many of the NGOs focused on the North Korean refugee crisis, it is

unfortunate that these women in their own statements often prioritize their gratitude towards these organizations that have helped them over activism for the adversity that both they and others have experienced. This is different from international NGOs and governments who often give these women a platform to voice their opinions and experiences as a form of activism. A former survivor of trafficking was published by Anti-Slavery international stating “It is my duty to educate people and tell the story. Our voices will be heard so when we tell our story people will believe it’s true.”⁷⁹ Shouldn’t these organizations be presenting these women with the opportunity to be leaders in their own misfortune, or is empowering their own reputation more important? In many statements made by the refugees that LINK rescued, they often begin their testimonies by discussing the hardship they faced, and then they mention how after they “connected to LINK’s network” their situation got tremendously better.⁸⁰ These women’s statements seem to glorify the work of LINK over the awareness that their statements brings to the existence of the Chinese Marriage Trade and those it has affected.

The point of this research is not to belittle the good that these organizations have done, but to emphasize the positive impact that these women’s voices can have on this situation. Indeed, they do need outside help to overcome their adversity but the ability to overcome and survive such adversities such as forced marriage and human trafficking are due greatly to their own self will and strength. This is something that is greatly overlooked, since they are often framed as victims to be saved and not voices to be heard. This frame is degrading and takes the power away from these women’s words.

Why Is This Situation Overlooked?

Throughout the duration of this paper, it became evident that the Chinese Marriage Trade is not on the international agenda. There are many factors that have played into this outcome.

First is that there are two state power houses and one international organizational power that have the ability to bring increased awareness and action to this issue but have little interest in doing so. These three important players are China, the United States and the United Nations. Another factor is that while the Chinese Marriage Trade has been discussed in many of the NGOs through the frames of human trafficking, forced marriage and modern-day slavery, they too have focused little on the issue. It must also be recognized that international human rights NGOs have had little to say on not only the Chinese Marriage Trade but also the North Korean refugee crisis. This has been reflected through both the lack of primary sources published through these organizations and also the large time gaps between the few published sources.

China has made it increasingly difficult for knowledge about this trade to be spread through the population of China by their strong policy of censorship. And due to its dual functionality, and even at times its de-facto status, the trade not only continues to exist but some women who are in abusive situations in result of the trade also remain in those types of situations. Pertaining to this situation, the Chinese Marriage Trade is not officially recognized by the Chinese government but is allowed to continue functioning because it serves as some type of important function to its society, enabling the trade to have a de-facto status at times. Through my research it has become evident that societies will often use gray markets as a temporary solution to a large-scale problem. Furthermore, the US government has mainly become involved in this situation because domestic NGOs and some former North Korean defectors have continuously pressured them to take action and acknowledgement of the situation. As of current, the United States government has taken more interest in North Korea's nuclear weapon status, then the number of North Koreans who have their rights constantly violated.

Furthermore, it is unfortunate that some of the world's largest international human rights

NGOs and the United Nations has had little interest on this issue. Because the North Korean refugee crisis is small, many organizations and states overlook it and its future implications. However small the situation is, both the North Korean refugee crisis and the Chinese Marriage Trade have been in existence for almost 20 years and continue to be an issue. The lives of these women have not just been ignored by their own government, but also by the overall international community. The Chinese Marriage Trade may also be continuously ignored because of its unrecognized status as a gray market. Its status as a gray market has made it less easy to be detected as functioning illegal and therefore less likely to be investigated by more powerful and influential organizations.

Conclusion

It is to no surprise that the Chinese Marriage Trade has been held as an insignificant situation to the majority of the international community. This is especially understandable with the knowledge that the ongoing North Korean refugee crisis has also been given little to no attention by larger powers. It is this lack of circulating knowledge regarding the Chinese Marriage Trade that has enabled organizations to shape how the public understands and learns about them. In other words, these organizations are able to use a variety of different diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames in order to control what information is relayed to their audiences, as well as how the situation is to be perceived.⁸¹ Despite whether or not these organizations genuinely advocate for the basic human rights of the North Korean women involved, they have been able to manipulate the image of these women to fit their missions through diagnostic frames.⁸² From their observations and knowledge regarding these women, they have diagnosed them as not only “victims” but also “refugees.” The term “victim” can

emphasize these women as victims to be saved instead of voices to be heard. And the label “refugee” might not only add to this image but also represent these women as just a statistic instead of people who potentially have an important and positive influence on the situation.

In addition, they are able to take advantage of the public’s lack of knowledge in relation to this topic by disseminating information on the Chinese Marriage Trade through their own diagnostic frames.⁸³ This is the reason why most sources and organizations do not mention the dual functionality of the trade and only refer to it as an example of human trafficking or modern-day slavery. They use their own diagnostic frames to define the situation as an illegal activity by emphasizing the trade’s involvement with the illegal purchase and sale of North Korean women.

Furthermore, by framing the Chinese Marriage Trade as functioning illegally, the use of motivational frames and prognostic frames has become increasingly more conducive to the mission of these organizations. Through motivational frames, organizations have the ability to rally others to join their cause by emphasizing saviorism. It is then easier to inflate the victimization of these women to their audience, so that they can not only draw more sympathetic attention to the situation but also elicit interest for charitable donations. By advertising donations as an act of saviorism, they are also defining the situation as being solvable through monetary means. In this case, charity, money that originated from those with privilege and power, is most definitely used as a prognostic frame, to elicit support that may be more beneficial to their own reputation, than for the situation of these women. The information regarding the Chinese Marriage Trade has been packaged in such a way by a multitude of organizations that it does not fully represent the reality of the situation.

By disregarding the role that dual functionality plays in the Chinese Marriage Trade, the international community is able to ignore its status as a gray market. And by ignoring the trade’s

gray areas, we are also burying the most important information that we have regarding this situation, which are first-hand accounts told by the North Korean women involved. Today's society has had it engrained in them to see situations as either black or white, where the status of gray has become unacceptable. However, there are many current situations that cannot be defined as either illicit or licit. While this complicates the subject, we cannot continue to disregard the Chinese Marriage Trade as a gray market, nor can we disregard the existence of other gray markets.

My research on the Chinese Marriage Trade not only emphasizes it has a rather gray area but has also proven that gray markets have been used as a temporary solution to mass societal problems. And in result, societies, and states alike have overlooked the serious negative impacts that gray markets such as these have had on multiple lives. If the Chinese Marriage Trade is not recognized as a gray market, it will continue to thrive because we will not have an accurate understanding of its functionality. Furthermore, by only referring to the situation as an illicit situation, these women's voices will never be able to be utilized to advocate for their own freedoms and rights. Moving forward, these women could have the most beneficial impact on a movement towards the elimination of the Chinese Marriage Trade. However, if we continue to ignore their voices and view them as unimportant victims, they will never serve this important purpose.

¹ Duanduan Li and Irene Liu, *Reading Into a New China: Deciphering a Changing Society*, 2nd

² Duanduan Li and Irene Liu, *Reading Into a New China: Deciphering a Changing Society*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1(Cheng & Tsui Company Inc, 2017)

³ Duanduan Li and Irene Liu, *Reading Into a New China: Deciphering a Changing Society*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1(Cheng & Tsui Company Inc, 2017)

⁴ Zhuang, Ping (1998), *The Traffic in Women For Marriage In China: Problems and Perspectives*. Regina SK: Social Policy Research Unit, 5

⁵ Yeonmi Park and Maryanne Vollers, *In Order to Live: A North Korean Girl's Journey to Freedom* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2016)

⁶ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2013/06/north-korea-escalates-its-crackdown-border-crossers/>

⁷ Ma, Josephine (2018, August 27). Sold and Separated: The Trafficked North Korean Women Trying to Bring Their Chinese Children 'Home' to the South. Retrieved <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2161475/sold-and-separated-trafficked-north-korean-women-trying>

⁸ Committee For Human Rights North Korea (2009), *Lives for Sale: Personal Accounts of Women Fleeing North Korea to China*. Washington, D. C : Committee for Human Rights in North Korea

⁹ Yeonmi Park and Maryanne Vollers, *In Order to Live: A North Korean Girl's Journey to Freedom* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2016)

¹⁰ Moises Naim, *Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers and Copycats are Hijacking the Global Economy*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2005)

¹¹ Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.

¹² Riley, Roger W (1996). Revealing Socially Constructed Knowledge Through Quasi Structured Interviews and Grounded Theory Analysis. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 5(1-2), 25-26. DOI: 10.1300/J073v05n01_03

¹³ <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/rescue-refugees/>

¹⁴ Riley, Roger W (2010). Revealing Socially Constructed Knowledge Through Quasi Structured Interviews and Grounded Theory Analysis. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 5(1-2), 22.

¹⁵ Keck, M, Sikkink, K. (1998). Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction. In *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (pp. 1-38). Cornell University Press.

¹⁶ ¹⁶ Keck, M, Sikkink, K. (1998). Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction. In *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (pp. 1-38). Cornell University Press.

¹⁷ <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/>

¹⁸ Entman, Robert M (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 52.

¹⁹ Schuefele, Dietram A (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1). 116

²⁰ Benford, Robert, Snow, David A (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, DOI: 615. 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611

²¹ Benford, Robert, Snow, David A (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, DOI: 615. 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611

²² Benford, Robert, Snow, David A (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, DOI: 616. 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611

²³ Stern, Jessica (2003). *Terror In the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*. (New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003, 219-221)

²⁴ Benford, Robert, Snow, David A (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26. DOI: 617. 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611

²⁵ Krushnapriya Sahoo, Bishnupriya Sahoo, Ashok Kumar Choudhury, Nighat Yasin Sofi, Raman Kumar, Ajeet Singh Bhadoria (2015). Childhood Obesity: Causes and Consequences. *J Family Med Prim Care*, 4(2): 187–192. DOI: 10.4103/2249-4863.154628

²⁶ Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, 1998. 89-95

²⁷ <https://www.hrw.org/EndFamilyDetention>

-
- ²⁸ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/06/26/us-supreme-court-disregards-trumps-discriminatory-words-uphold-travel-ban>
- ²⁹ Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, 1998.
- ³⁰ <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/organized-crime/intro/emerging-crimes/organ-trafficking.html>
- ³¹ <https://www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/85/12/06-039370/en/>
- ³² http://www.hrnkinsider.org/2018/01/protecting-north-korean-refugees_12.html
- ³³ Mancuso, Marina (2014). Not All Madams Have a Central Role: Analysis of a Nigerian Sex Trafficking Network. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 17(1-2), 66-88. Doi: 10.1007/s12117-013-9199-z
- ³⁴ <https://www.dhs.gov/blue-campaign/myths-and-misconceptions>
- ³⁵ United Nations. "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime." Refworld. 3, Accessed April 27, 2018. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4720706c0.html>.
- ³⁶ <https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/human-trafficking>
- ³⁷ <https://vomkorea.com/en/project/northkorea/>
- ³⁸ <https://www.crossingbordersnk.org/>
- ³⁹ <https://www.cfk.org/>
- ⁴⁰ <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/>
- ⁴¹ <http://eng.nkhumanrights.or.kr/eng/main.php>
- ⁴² <https://www.hrnk.org/>
- ⁴³ <https://www.antislavery.org/>
- ⁴⁴ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/>
- ⁴⁵ <https://www.hrw.org/>

⁴⁶ United States. Congressional-Executive Commission on China. (2012). *China's repatriation of North Korean refugees: hearing before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, One Hundred Twelfth Congress, second session, March 5, 2012*. Washington: U.S. G.P.O. .

⁴⁷ Chinese Foreign Ministry (2002) *Zhang Qiyue on Ju Jintao's Visit To The US, and the US Nuclear Report* [Press Release] Retrieved from <http://www.chinanews.com/2002-03-14/26/169682.html>

⁴⁸ Chinese Foreign Ministry (1990) *300,000 North Korean Refugees Wandering in Northern China Report Not True* [Press Release] Retrieved from <http://www.chinanews.com/1999-9-3/26/250.html>

⁴⁹ Moises Naim, *Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers and Copycats are Hijacking the Global Economy*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2005)

⁵⁰ Moises Naim, *Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers and Copycats are Hijacking the Global Economy*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2005)

⁵¹ Duanduan Li and Irene Liu, *Reading Into a New China: Deciphering a Changing Society*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1(Cheng & Tsui Company Inc, 2017)

⁵² <https://www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/85/12/06-039370/en/>

⁵³ Small-Jordan, Dianne, et al. "Organ Harvesting, Human Trafficking, and the Black Market." *Decoded Science*, 23 Mar. 2016, www.decodedscience.org/organ-harvesting-human-trafficking-black-market/56966.

⁵⁴ "Organ Donation and Transplantation Statistics." *The National Kidney Foundation*, 11 Jan. 2016, www.kidney.org/news/newsroom/factsheets/Organ-Donation-and-Transplantation-Stats.

⁵⁵ Porter, David, and Carla K. Johnson. "First Case of Organ Trafficking in U.S.?" *NBCNews.com*, NBCUniversal News Group, 25 July 2009, www.nbcnews.com/id/32132371/ns/us_news-crime_and_courts/t/first-case-organ-trafficking-us/.

⁵⁶ Small-Jordan, Dianne, et al. "Organ Harvesting, Human Trafficking, and the Black Market." *Decoded Science*, 23 Mar. 2016, www.decodedscience.org/organ-harvesting-human-trafficking-black-market/56966.

⁵⁷ "The State of the International Organ Trade: a Provisional Picture Based on Integration of Available Information." *WHO*, World Health Organization, www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/85/12/06-039370/en/.

⁵⁸ <https://www.dhs.gov/blue-campaign/what-human-trafficking>

⁵⁹ Cohen, Robert (2014) *China's Forced Repatriation of North Korean Refugees Incurs United Nations Censure*. *International Journal of Korean Studies*, Summer/Fall. 8-9

⁶⁰

⁶¹ <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/>

⁶² <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/rescue-refugees/>

⁶³ <https://www.cfk.org/why-we-serve>

⁶⁴ <https://www.cfk.org/why-we-serve>

⁶⁵ <http://vomkorea.kr/blog/do-north-koreans-actually-believe-in-the-official-north-korean-ideology/>

⁶⁶ <http://vomkorea.kr/blog/congratulations-to-ji-seong-ho-but-the-biggest-north-korean-heroes-are-those-who-cross-the-border-in-the-other-direction/>

⁶⁷ <http://eng.nkhumanrights.or.kr/eng/datacenter/enewsletter.php>

⁶⁸ <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/rescue-refugees/>

⁶⁹ <https://www.crossingbordersnk.org/our-work>

⁷⁰ <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/rescue-refugees/>

⁷¹ <http://vomkorea.kr/blog/from-sex-trafficker-to-christian-martyr-one-north-korean-womans-story-of-redemption/>

⁷² <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/north-korean-refugee-stories-meet-yoon-suk/>

⁷³ <https://www.cfk.org/projects>

⁷⁴ <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/rescue-refugees/>

⁷⁵ <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/im-a-nomad-life/>

⁷⁶ Committee For Human Rights North Korea (2009), *Lives For Sale: Personal Accounts of Women Fleeing North Korea to China*. Washington, D. C : Committee for Human Rights in North Korea

⁷⁷ <https://vomkorea.com/en/project/northkorea/uu-school/>

⁷⁸ <http://vomkorea.kr/blog/from-sex-trafficker-to-christian-martyr-one-north-korean-womans-story-of-redemption/>

⁷⁹ <https://www.antislavery.org/voice-freedom-project/>

⁸⁰ <https://www.libertyinnorthkorea.org/joys-story-part-3-difficult-decision/>

⁸¹ Schuefele, Dietram A (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1). 116

⁸² Benford, Robert, Snow, David A (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, DOI: 615. 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611

⁸³ Benford, Robert, Snow, David A (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, DOI: 615. 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611